

864 /141 cont./ Not until he is circumcised, at the age of seven to eight years, will a boy always wear a pair of pants under his sarong. Adult men bathe in the nude, but in so doing [304] 852] cover their genitals with the hand. Women keep their sarong on when they bathe. One of the first things that a Makassarese woman observed with surprise on Java was the fact that there the women bathe naked in the river. A girl always appears before her mother with her sarong. Young girls do tease each other at the well, "almost," when a sarong almost slips down. But if the sarong had really slipped off, the other would have denied this and would not have [576] spoken about it any further. This is how a girl knows her friends. Only those who do not like her would talk about it to others and make her ashamed (siri).

857 Children play "marriage." They put on rags and cloths. /142/ One of them is the bride's mother and helps the others, and they make sand cakes. The children may begin to quarrel and the matter often ends by a girl getting a shove or a blow which hurts so that she cries and runs away angrily. Sexual activities were definitely not observed. When an almost three-year-old boy was asked: "Why don't you play bridegroom" (buntimmako), he closed his eyes and stood motionless. The picture of the bridegroom, but above all, that of the bride, who, dressed in her most beautiful clothes, remains seated motionless for hours on end with cast-down eyes, had made the strongest impression on this three-year-old.

857 Boys and girls tend to play together up to the age of eight to ten years so long as it works out. Up to that age girls 858 are also allowed to run around freely in the yard. But even 867 before the appearance of puberty the separation is intensified. Boys learn that they must sit still and be quiet when the old men speak. "After all, you are no longer a little child," 458 they are told. Around the same time, thus long before the 867



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During a circumcision festival held for a son of the adat community head, he and his little sister also have their teeth filed.

(Photo I. T. C. O.)



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On the occasion of the same festival, the old Imam also cuts the children's hair in a ritual manner.

(Photo I. T. C. O.)

[end plate 9]

1:Alkema & Bezemer--519 E-4, 5 (no date)1927 OB1 Indonesia OB1

Coastal Moro OA16
Borneo OC1

Javanese OE5
Malayans AN5
Toradja OG11
MaKassar OG6●
Gorontalo OG4

I [465 cont.]

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881 teeth, and they are filed flat. Also, filing the teeth to a point
MR may be accompanied by relief-filing through partly removing
J the enamel so that the front surface shows a diamond-shaped re-
304 lief. Some peoples, among them the Javanese and the Malayans,
881 blacken the stumps.

I Opinions differ as to the significance of this custom. Some
304 regard it as a mourning custom, like the practice of breaking off
174 all or some of the teeth in Polynesia, on some of the small islands
T of our archipelago, and among some Toradja tribes. Filing
[304] could represent a later phase of breaking them off entirely; the
teeth, as containing much "mana," were thus offered to the
spirits instead of the whole body, and later this was further re-
duced to filing away part of the teeth. The blackening of the
rest could then have served to hide from the spirits what had
C not been offered. Only later did the custom become a kind of
MK preparation ceremony before marriage. Advocates of the view
J that it may have been a mourning custom point to the practice
G of first filing the teeth only after the death of the nearest rela-
304 tives, a custom among the Minahasa (formerly), in the vicinity
765 of Bengkoelen, in the Kedoe Residency on Java, on Salajer
Island, and on the Sula Islands.

I Another view is that it arose solely from the desire for
304 adornment, which led to great exaggeration (as is usually the
174 case with fashion), with the result that gradually the exaggera-
tion came to be regarded as beautiful. The Indonesian peoples
of later times undoubtedly have regarded it as an enhancement
of beauty, as can be seen [466] in the Malayan poem in which
the lover compares the mouth of his beloved to an opened
pomegranate: the black pips (the teeth) in the red flesh of the
fruit (the lips reddened through the use of betel).

This would also help explain the use of other beauty aids
on the teeth among various peoples. Putting little gold pins
between the teeth or in little holes bored in the teeth for this
B purpose is especially popular; among others, many Dajak [Dyak]
304 tribes practice it.
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2: Wilken--270 E-6 (ca. 1880) 1893

Buru OH8
Ceram OH9
Watubela OH17
Aru OH5

OB1 Indonesia OB1

Javanese OE5
Makassar OG6
Gorontalo OG4
New Guinea OJ1
Ambon OH4

J [227 cont.]

304 a rule it is left to the better judgment of the person who performs the operation, who is governed by the circumstances.

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852 The person who does the circumcising may be a priest, but is usually a layman and is called bong. Well-to-do people provide food at midnight before the ceremony, and the gamelang plays. The following morning at six o'clock the boy who is to undergo the operation, handsomely attired, smeared with boreh = yellow ointment, and covered with garlands of the small, white, and fragrant blooms of the Mimusops elengi, strung with thread is taken to a kind of tent, under which the bong performs the operation in one of the two ways. Generally, the boy is 12, 14, or 15 years old.

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852 Among the Makassarese and Buginese, too, the Arabic sonnat, pronounced sunnā, is the name for circumcision. It is circumcision here and is done at about twelve years of age by a priest who gives the Arabic formula: "Oh, God! Bless our lord Mohammed and the family of our lord Mohammed. Oh, God! Bless our lord Mohammed and his family and his associates."

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304 It is unnecessary to discuss circumcision among the other Mohammedan peoples of the archipelago. Only the Gorontalese should be given special mention. Among them this operation is called either sonnat, the Arabic term, [228] or moluna, a native word. Circumcision is practiced among the well-to-do, and incision by the lower classes.

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304 Circumcision is also found among various pagan tribes as well as among the Mohammedan peoples in the archipelago.

Let us begin with the Papuans of New Guinea. It is found exclusively among those of the east coast and probably exists there in the form of incision.

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304 Of the Moluccas, we first call attention to Ambon and the Uliasar Islands (Saparua, Haruku, and Nusalaut), where, according to Valentijn, it was formerly generally practiced. Even today, it is found among the Alfoer of Buru, in some parts of western Ceram, and on the Watubela Islands, and everywhere it is incision. It is different, however, on the Aru Islands, where

Minangkabau 0D10
Javanese 0E5
Makassar 0G6
Gorontalo 0G4

[232 cont.]

done to make the boy mature and completely normal from a sexual standpoint. With circumcision one left childhood and entered the ranks of the adolescents. Circumcision is thus the same as a declaration of nubility. We have seen that this is the case among the peoples of the archipelago.

Among some peoples, circumcision takes place at a very early age, for example, among the Israelites. Here it was thought that nature had to be helped promptly. The covering of the glans by the foreskin, as an abnormality, it had to be removed at once. Originally, then, the operation had no religious significance. It only gradually acquired this. Practices derived from antiquity quickly acquire this character. Uncivilized peoples are inclined to regard what originally were simple measures for the benefit of man as willed by the gods.

c. Circumcision of Girls (1)

1. Wilken, "De besnijdenis," etc.,
op. cit., pp. 195 ff.

Besides boys, girls, too, are circumcised, but this custom is not so general. It consists of the removal of [233] the praeputium clitoridis, sometimes of the clitoris itself, or of the labia minora. In the Malay Archipelago it is found exclusively among the Mohammedan peoples, from which it is obvious that this custom was adopted from the Arabs, among whom it originated.

Girls are generally circumcised at an earlier age than boys. This is the case, for example, among the Minangkabau Malays, and among the Javanese girls undergo this operation as early as the sixth year. Among the Makassarese it is done between the third and seventh year. The Gorontaloese, too, practice it. Among all the peoples named, however, it is done with much less ceremony than is the case for the boys. The circumcision of girls among the Mohammedan peoples, like

2: Wilken--279 E-5 (ca. 1880) 1893
Enggano ODE

OB1 Indonesia OB1
Gorontalo OG4
Javanese OE5
Sula OH15
Makassar OG6
Taradja OG4

M [236 cont.]

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Concerning the age at which the teeth are filed, it should be noted that it commonly coincides with the onset of puberty or entering into wedlock. It is also worthy of note that sometimes the teeth are not filed until after the death of the nearest blood-relatives. For instance, this is the case among the Alfoer of the Minahasa, in the Kedoe Residency, in the environs of Benkulen, on the Sula Islands, and on Salayar, which indicates that tooth-filing was once a mourning custom, corresponding to the practice current in Polynesia of breaking out a couple of teeth as an act of mourning when a death occurs.

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In the Malay Archipelago teeth are not broken out for that purpose, but as a necessary ceremony at the celebration of a marriage. For instance, this is done among the tribes of central Celebes and the people of Enggano. It therefore appears that tooth-filing and the tooth-breaking are parallel; in other words they are identical.

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This is of great importance for an answer to the question of the original significance of the mutilation of teeth; although nowadays most of the peoples of the archipelago file the teeth only for beautification, it seems to me that a deeper meaning lies behind it.

I have just indicated that breaking out the teeth occurs in Polynesia as a mourning custom and is analogous to tooth-filing for the same reason among some tribes of the Malay Archipelago. This custom, however, does not stand alone, but is often linked with other self-mutilations which involve bloodshed, the blood of which should be considered a sacrifice to the dead, whereby, in giving part of the body, in this case blood, the principle pars pro toto is put into practice. The supposition that mutilation of the teeth was originally a similar [237] sacrificial act is, therefore, far from improbable.

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Likewise, breaking the teeth out or filing them on the occasion of marriage must originally have been a sacrificial act whose original religious significance was later lost and it survived only as a social institution analogous to the ritual

2: Wilken--280 E-5 (ca.1880) 1893 OB1 Indonesia OB1
 Makassar OG6 ● Malays AN5
 Mentawai OP9 Batak OP5
 Timor OF20 Land Dayak OCB
 Iban OCB
 Javanese OES

Id [237 cont.]

304 haircutting, which sometimes is done as a symbol of submission.
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 585 For this reason the married woman had a couple of teeth knocked
 302 out to show that she had become the property of her husband.

B After the filing generally comes the necessary second step,
 MI the blackening of the teeth. For this a kind of varnish, called
 304 badja by the Malays and Bataks, is used, which can be obtained
 302 in various ways. The Malays of central Sumatra and of the Riouw-
 Lingga Archipelago make badja by burning a stick of karamunting
 wood or a piece of the hard shell of the coconut, and the fluid
 that drips out is caught in an iron spoon and mixed with various
 ingredients. In some areas of the Padang Highlands, badja is
 made by burning the same kind of wood under a coconut shell
 in which a hole has been made and above which an iron spoon
 is held. The smoke that reaches the spoon makes soot, which
 is mixed with oil and other ingredients. The Batak and the
 Dajak of the southeastern division of Borneo and of Sarawak obtain
 this dyestuff in about the same way. The Javanese go to work
 in a different way to color their teeth. They use the so-called
 302 bangon, a mouthwash of coconut water, into which is put a

glowing piece of iron that is left in it for a few days. Some-
 times they chew the rind of a pomegranate before applying the
 304 bangon. The Makassarese and Buginese use a similar method.

Some peoples do not blacken the teeth. It is not done,
 for example, among the Mentawai Islanders, the Timorese, or
 the Ambonese. All these peoples have a high regard for shiny
 302 white teeth.

We must say a few words about the blackening of the
 J [238] teeth of the Javanese, which are filed at acute angles and
 304 in relief. It seems that the bangon colors the teeth only where
 302 enamel has been removed. In the case of relief-filing, the front
 surface of the teeth is treated in such a way that the enamel is
 not entirely removed; part of it remains, with the result that
 this part is gleaming white on a black background. Those who
 have their teeth treated this way are generally young men who
 in later years will have all the enamel removed so the teeth
 will be uniformly black.

Javanese OE5
 Makassar OG6 ●
 Redjang-Lampung OD12
 New Guinea OJ1

I [245 cont.]

304 head of the newborn, however, is more common in the archi-
 854 pelago, although not to such an extent that it can be compared
 with skull deformation among the Dajak, etc. Dr. Swawing,
 J for example, says of the Javanese that the native midwives try
 844 to shape the head after birth, but he adds that he very much
 doubts that the shape of the head can be altered artificially by
 RL gentle manipulations with the hands. Marsden observed the
 844 same thing among the Redjang. There is still another people,
 however, among whom artificial skull deformation seems to
 MK exist, and they are the Buginese. Mr. Riedel mentions that they
 304 observe this custom, but he gives no further details (1).

Riedel, Zeitschrift f. Ethnol.
 Vol. VII, Part V.

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One should therefore accept this data with caution. There
 is a circumstance, however, which confirms his information.
 The Buginese skulls in European museums give the impression
 that they have been artificially compressed with great force
 from the front and back. Furthermore, it is to be noted that
 skulls found among other peoples of the archipelago are highly
 asymmetrical. Of course, from these few skulls one should not
 immediately draw the conclusion that artificial skull-deformation
 was practiced among these peoples so long as it has not been
 confirmed by eye-witnesses. Dr. Meyer says that the asymmetry
 of the [246] Papuan skulls that he brought back and those on the
 islands of Geelvink Bay is very striking, but he would not venture
 to conclude from this that it had been caused by artificial de-
 formation (1).

1. Meyer, op. cit., p. 23.

M tumilalang toa. Orders of the radja to the people at
175 large go through the tumilalang toa, and requests of the
565 people to the radja go through the tumilalang lolo.]

[114] The forty arong, as Friedericy wrote about them, seem to be silly; for example, the rope twisters. But he wrote about the ruination of a formerly great and important system. A real survival, perhaps. Now they no longer exist. As of 1905, however, they were still there in form and name. Formerly they were officials of great importance, each in charge of an important function of state, and of many men. For example, one had to get rowers for the large war praus, another had to see that rope (then very important) was provided, another was in charge of the mountain areas, another got dancers, and so forth. Friedericy wrote of the last weird phase, when the old rope official, for example, sat in the palace twisting a piece of rope pathetically. This certainly was a survival of former grandeur.

M I asked about the bissu [pagan priests, priestesses] and
793 their link with the gaokang [ornaments or regalia, possession
838 of which gives ruling power to Makassarese nobles. --Analyst]
231 This checks, but, as Friedericy says, there are no longer any
881 bi-sexual ones in Goa. There are male keepers, called pinati.
304 But they still exist for example in Segeri, and Rahim was there
574 for a big circumcision feast last week (why did I miss it?), and the homosexuals were there. It was evidently a mass affair, and Rahim said there was dancing, buffalo sacrifice, and boys expecting to be circumcised sitting on buffaloes which were to be slaughtered. (Could there be here a fine case of circumcision as a survival of blood sacrifice of humans?)

M Rahim told me much about the history of Goa, and how the
182 Dutch deliberately undermined the old custom law. I re-
771 minded him that Mohammedanism did this too, and he agreed. But, he said, Mohammedanism generally works along with the adat, and if an adat matter comes up at any point the Mohammedan religious phase is subordinated. Thus, if a radja is officiating at some big occasion the mosque may be nearly empty.

I Rahim said something which was remarkably like my own
181 idea. He said Celebes (and he meant South Celebes) is the adat part of Indonesia, par excellence. He said that you could make the following grouping:

Java - politics
Sumatra - religion
Borneo - trade and business
Celebes - adat

These are the preoccupations, and the Dutch, in order to rule

old practices. They were interested in the story Rahim told me about Segeri, where there are lots of homosexuals. Rahim had gone to the circumcision feast there, where buffalo were killed and there was much dancing. The mass circumcision, boys sitting on buffalo to be killed, having their teeth filed, and the like brought up further questions.

Circumcision: Saleh said that sunat [circumcision] here is accompanied by a big feast, and that buffalo are killed and are eaten. Also, he added that teeth are still filed, every boy having them filed a bit. No longer are they filed down to the gums at the circumcision rites. They showed me examples of boys with their teeth filed even. This evidently applies only to members of the upper class. A boy holds a piece of wood clamped between his teeth and the tukang sunat [i.e., circumcision expert--Analyst] (evidently) files them down a bit with a stone. This is also done for the girls, who sunat too, but but there is no feast for them.

Regarding the pinati, Saleh said something about two kinds of them, one kind being "Hindu". I didn't get the point. At feasts of all kinds (marriage, circumcision, etc.) there are padjoge and pakarena. They go along with drum beaters. The former are prostitutes, the latter young girls. At the outside they are fourteen to fifteen years old. After that they must quit. They come from Limbung mainly. There are none in this kampong. They come in troops of ten including two leaders. They cost about f.50. Slaves cannot afford to have them at their feasts.

I asked about the title daeng. There are many people who have this title in the kampong. Saleh said that they all had at least a little noble blood in them some place along the line. In regard to the bate, it is agreed that they all have the title gallarang which is lower than that of a high noble. The bate are "high" gallarang. They were formerly mere chieftains of the commoner class. This again is the two-way division, and the mutual relationships between nobles and commoners is again evident.

In regard to service for rulers and chiefs, I was told that there is no more of this. For example, in the rice fields of the ruler the workers now get wages. Also the same holds true for the kepala kampong. Formerly he had a kasuwijang. [obligations reflecting respect for higher rank]

They all knew about the troubadors who also come to a feast.

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000 Balombaru, September 4, 1949. Fifth day: I got to the kampong a little late, and went through most of the rest of my notes, although I am still not quite finished.

262 Food and drink: they said that the poor folk might eat much
273 maize at certain times of the year, but that everyone pre-
ferred rice all the time. They said they didn't eat horse-
689 meat. Fish is very common, both fresh and dried. Fish, however, is expensive now because rope and cordage for the nets is also expensive. Very few people drink wine, because if they become drunk they are beaten if they use bad language. Thus the very few who like to drink are afraid to do so in the kampong and therefore go to Makassar for such activity.

[276] There is said to be a total lack of opium smokers.

224 Deer are hunted farther away with lances and ropes (for-
411 merly at least). Also, stringed spears were formerly used
857 in war. They had heard about the blow gun but did not know about poison, that is, for the dart tips. This was too long ago. Today they say that the children use a form of blow gun with a cotton wadded dart to kill birds. It is about a meter and a half long. They described devices for scaring birds away from the rice fields. If a ruler is present at a deer hunt, the deer must be killed in front of a grandstand, as in Bontorio.

351 Fences are built around houses, but the ones I see are
342 mostly flimsy and sparse. As to house construction, I was
764 shown the main post. It was a little to the rear of the other center one. If there is a corpse in the house, it is laid on the side of the house to the rear of the main post (thus in the rear of the house). In regard to the two pavilions said to have been used formerly, one was for the body and the other for guests. They said no more. They knew about the old habit of sticking a spear up through the floor to kill someone and how the folk would sleep on buffalo hides in order to prevent this.

287 Tapa: they know about bark cloth, and said that in the
291 Japanese time they were forced to make it again: Thus the
411 old art is not dead. They said that formerly, and to some
565 extent at present, women wore pants under the sarong. As for the kris, formerly all men carried one, except slaves.

[301] Women's ears are pierced, and this goes for everyone.
304 However, they did know about the European screw habit, and
881 showed me some earrings which were made for them. Girls' ears are pierced at from three to five years, but they say
842 there is no attendant feast. They agreed that girls are cut
574 at from four to eight or more years of age, and this is accompanied by a feast.

accompanied by a feast. At the same time teeth are filed. They have a name for this feast, something like akatan. Between the ages of ten and fifteen the boys are cut and there is a big feast. At that time their teeth are filed. I asked about the story which states that if no children are forthcoming a man will be cut again and again. They agreed that it was so; if there are no children they think that perhaps enough was not cut off, so they cut off some more. (This is a fine case of blood letting for fertility.) They agreed that this operation is not true circumcision, but merely the removal of a piece, rather than the whole prepuce.

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Only the upper teeth are filed.

They showed me a pamor damascened kris and knife. It looked like it had wavy incisions on the blade.

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They knew about the knee bent throwing sticks of Pangkadjene, but they said they do not have any here. They were interested in the boomerang description, but had never heard of it before, evidently.

They said that once there were many shields used here. They were known as lango, I believe. They had also heard of coats of mail. They told of various kinds of praus, some used only for fishing, others only for trade.

[501]

They also knew that, formerly, smelting of iron was carried on here.

They said that trees can be sold without selling the land. For example, they said that a man in Makassar might own trees in the village and come there to get the fruit. But they added, that usually such a man rents the land on which his trees are situated. Evidently some Chinese are land owners, but it appears that this goes back to former times. Evidently this antedated the Dutch law against Chinese ownership of land in Indonesia.

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They knew about the mutual property in marriage and the separate property and my terms are all right. They also agreed that formerly they had a form of inheritance divided by odd and even numbers, but they said that now this system was largely gone and that a simple division took place, with the boys getting more, in Mohammedan fashion. Nevertheless, they did say that different kinds of things were inherited by boys and girls.

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I asked about the women soldiers and they had evidently heard of it. They said that perhaps this was a hundred years ago.

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They said that the annual animal sacrifice to the gaukung by the ruler is still done today. At least one buffalo must be killed for the gaukung every year.

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Now it is all right for others to use stones as is the case of his own house. In addition, only nobles were allowed to wear gold ornaments in former days. Papajungan knew little about tattooing although he understood what I meant.

He was interested in contraception and seemed impressed with my arguments for planned families. He is a smart lad and could get some place. He is very lively. He said that if he had a chance he would go to the United States at once.

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Animals used as offerings at feasts are: buffaloes, pigs, dogs, and fowls.

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In pre-war days there were perhaps two criminal cases per year in Rantepao. Now there are hundreds. Cases range from stealing and fraud through a number of other types, but usually do not involve murder. (Japanese influence on demoralization?)

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Regarding schools: I notice that much time in the yard is spent standing at attention or standing in formation and in marching. When they march here, the boys are stripped to the waist. They march slowly with their arms swinging as do the British guards. Could this arm swinging be Japanese too? Anyway this is not an agreeable business. What is the use of it?

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Regarding the graves: Papajungan said that the coffins in the cleft are of the people who are too poor to have a niche made for them. These coffins may belong even to nobles. Query: is van der Veen right in saying that there must be one slave per niche? Can slaves be placed in the niches without trouble?

As for the stones, Papajungan said that only the nobles can use them free. Commoners and slaves may use them if they pay a price to the nobles. But if they are poor, then they use wooden posts only. (This may be like the feast I saw on a distant hill near Rantepao where there were no stones.)

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On the first day of the feast in Lempo I noticed that there were many men working at cutting palm branches. They were used for decorations of various types.

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Papajungan says that until now in most places there has been an absolute taboo against slash-and-dibble, or dry agriculture (ladang). It is forbidden, and would ruin the wet rice fields. But there is also a taboo against planting corn or peanuts or anything else in a dry rice field after the harvest. However, Papajungan says that the taboo is just beginning to break down in the areas around the town and he hopes that it will continue to do so as they could get more

I boasting pattern in the United States and Indonesian culture.
635 He said that they will give their "platform" in incidental
668 speeches and on wall posters.

666 All of this is not too clear. Anyway, I see that Stefel,
like Riekerk, thinks that the "radical" tendency in elections
is encouraging. At least some Dutch officials seem to want
to have "radicalism" here. Stefel says that the absence of
political parties in general is a sign of political immaturity
only; they will come.

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304 Makassar, October 11, 1949: I had a talk with Rahim. He
565 showed me photographs of circumcision, with tooth filing and
881 hair cutting as well, taken in kampong Borongkaluku of dis-
778 trict Borolloe. This is under Gallarang, one of the nine bate
852 of Goa. This kampong is eighteen kilometers east of Makassar
535 on the way to Malino. In the pictures there were three chil-
dren being fixed, all of nobility. Two of them were girls, one
was a boy. Also their youthful lower-class followers par-
ticipated, wearing very elaborate, decorative dress too. Only
nobles can afford to have these great feasts. There is a big
procession, with people carrying all sorts of magical objects.
This goes to the holy stone of Songkolo' (there are only three
in all Goa), which is near Borongkaluku in the district of
Borolloe. The stone is in a fenced-in bamboo place, like the
stone at Kalé Goa. Here a man does a kris dance before an
open door of the flat stone sanctuary. A woman does a holy
dance in the same place. These are fine photographs. They
also show a mother having her first teeth filing. This is
done ceremonially only, with a gold ring. She has clamped
between her teeth a piece of wood. A fowl is being held by
the operator who smears the blood from it on her teeth. Then
there are photographs of the boy and the two girls (look to be
about 8 to 5 years old) being "filed". (Here again it is only
mock filing with a gold ring; after a few years they will get
the real filing with a stone). They also have pieces of wood
clamped in their teeth. Other photographs show these same
children getting their hair locks cut off. There is a wonder-
ful picture of a boy's penis being clamped and cut (super-
cision) and another showing the bloody scar on the top of the
penis. This is done with a steel knife. There is also a photo-
graph of one of the girls being cut, but her vulva is behind
a cloth sheet and the operator is working on it underneath,
so that from the picture one cannot see what is going on.
Another photograph shows the Mohammedan prayers being
offered at one side and a pagan stick offering on the other.

Also, in the procession there is a buffalo being led to the slaughter. The children, as well as the mother, have blood from a fowl smeared on their teeth. I am buying these photographs.

I asked about the bate selapang or the nine electors of Goa. He said originally the core of Goa was located to one side of the Berang River (it flows by Balumbaru). Here, over each of the nine sections, ruled the nine chiefs. They were commoners and they conquered all the land on one side of the river. Then came the nobles from heaven, the tumanurung. The nine bate chose among them for the rulers of the conquered territory. They were called karaeng, and the districts here are called the bate karaeng. One of them became the radja of all Goa. Nevertheless, he was still chosen by the nine chiefs, who are known as the gallarang, and the Goa radja may not do anything important without consulting them (this is different from Bone, Rahim says, where the arumpone can do anything he wants on his own initiative). The nine bate sections are still in Goa and the various karaeng are descendants of the heavenones. This explains a difficult point.

Rahim says, in regard to the aradjang, that there is a big pinati who cares for the aradjang or gaukang of Goa. He lives in the palace.

Rahim says that women are freer in Buginese areas than they are in Makassar. This surprises me. He says that strange men can talk at once to Buginese women but that this is not so in Makassar. The Makassarese, he says, are more for the seclusion of women than are the former.

The Dutch restored the Bone radja in 1931 and the Goa radja in 1933. The latter radja died in 1937, and the present one succeeded. After the war the Bone radja was one of the signers of the Merdeka proclamation of the South Celebes rulers asserting that they were now free and would no longer recognize Dutch rule. They evidently wanted to deal with the Republic. The Dutch, however, refused to accept them and the result was a bloody mess. The radja of Adjataparang (Pare Pare) was killed; Luwu was banished to Buton; and Bone (who was originally chosen from the Goa royal house in default of a high enough Bone man) was banished to Rantepao. (He is now in custody in Makassar.) The present Arumpone had been banished (to Buton?) when he was Aru Matjege because he was accused of having committed murder. However, the Dutch now took him back and made him radja! The proper Radja refused to agree to this move and pointed out that this was against adat inasmuch as he had been exiled for a capital crime.

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369 I asked whether the interior regions of Makassar are as backward and adat-ridden as the Buginese areas of Bone.

181 Rahim says that he thinks so, and attributes the freeness of the ones I know to their proximity to the big city. He said there isn't much difference in the more remote places between Makassar and Buginese areas. He did stress, however, that there are character differences between the two groups which research might reveal.

● 304 They (used to?) cut a man seven times in supercision, and 171 this was according to adat. A little blood was drawn each time, and when this was done seven times, he was O.K. (this looks like the blood purging which Reed and Whiting talk about in New Guinea).

000 Balumbaru, October 12, 1949. I made my last trip to see Saleh and to get more information on class and trade. He had returned from a wedding at 4 A.M. and his wife was still there.

346 In talking about the urns on the mosques and at the tomb, 764 he said that he had heard from informed men that they had 177 formerly been used for the cremated remains. He added 771 that the reason why Makassarese and Buginese people did not accept Hinduism was that they did not like cremation. Here's the folk reason, rationalized. I asked him about the incidence of divorce, and he said that there were very few in the kampong. He said that he knew of only one case in five years. As for polygamy, there are eight cases at present in the whole kampong, but in every case the other wife or wives live outside the kampong. Seven of these cases are those of nobles; the other is the rich man of the factory, a commoner, Liyu. He has taken a second wife. I got the full information on him, and also a map. I find that one thing I must get is the class of the kampong and mosque officials.

304 We went to kilometer 22, to Kalukuang and Limbung, to 881 see the last of a sunat [circumcision] feast, but it was over 565 and the dancers had gone. We met the father, however, a 343 young man and gallarang of the kampong. For this feast there had been constructed a special house known as a balugu. It had been made with criss-cross walls like the Pampanua birth feast place. The young man said that even this type of structure is being used today by non-nobles in Makassar, whereas in Buginese area this is still quite taboo. He also pointed out other rank symbols which are being used by non-nobles. I noticed that the house of the Goa radja, in [342] Sungguminasa, was a yellow wood house with a walled place

behind where there were many houses for his many slaves. That house had horns on the gables. The sunat feast lasted six days and five buffaloes had been killed for food as well as many fowls. Many fancy cakes were served which had been left over from the feast. I saw the boy who had been cut and he is said to be thirteen, although he looked much younger. I asked about the repeated cutting, up to seven times, and Saleh said that this is usual. He looked wise at this moment, and sizing up the boy, said, "I think it isn't finished with this fellow and that he will have to be cut again!"

I asked about the gaukang, and they agreed that the radja and the nine bate must have them. As for the others, for example the karaeng, some have them and some do not, but formerly they must all have had them.

I asked about the charms, the djimat, and they said that there are still plenty being used in the kampong.

We finally drove to the seaside where there was a bathing beach and bath houses. They say that there are many Dutch who come here and pay a fee. It is owned by the local karaeng.

I had a talk with Emanuel, a student of van Voll, and ter Haar's former assistant. He looked like an Indo [i.e., Eurasian]. He is trying to get through a uniform marriage law for Christians in all of East Indonesia. He admitted that this is a difficult task because the families are so often mixed, and the settlement of property is likewise very confused.

I asked Emanuel about the divorce pronouncement by a man. He agreed that it was normal for a man to say it three times in order for it to become a full divorce. If it is said only once or twice the couple can remarry, but if it has been said three times it is final. He said, however, that there are two other forms in Indonesia (he said that ter Haar mentioned this). One form is when a woman gets a man to agree to give talak by offering him a settlement. This is in line with true Mohammedan law. The other kind is peculiar to Indonesia. It occurs when a woman complains to the judge that she has offered a man settlement for the requested talak, but the man has refused. The man is then called to the judge, and if he is still unwilling and all is in order, the judge himself may pronounce talak.

I had a talk with engineer Resink, who is here for the Economic Affairs Department. He is an "Indo" and talks about "us" Indonesians. I get the impression he is a radical

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